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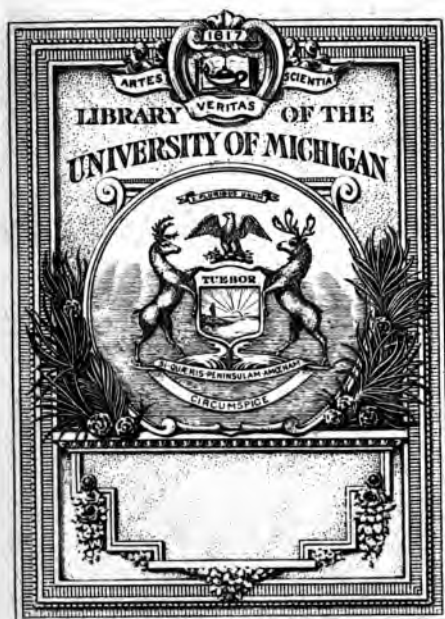
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MANNERS and PRINCIPLES

O F T H E

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INTRO-



INTRODUCTION.

IT would be unpardonable Rashness, to oppose *positive Assertions* to a Writer, eminently distinguished by a “just and extended,” “discernment of Men and Things, not only “as they exist, but as they unite, act or are “acted on, as Causes and Effects;” to a Writer, who professes and manifests a “se-
 “vere Impartiality, which can stand aloof,
 “superior to *all* Connections, a Quality sel-
 “dom found; who has powers to draw the
 “vast political machine towards his philoso-
 “phic Barque; the great portrait painter of
 “the public, whose fancy is more delicate
 “and inventive, than is suspected;” the
 * Cenfor of his majesty’s dominions; who
 acts as the † provost of an Army, ‡ as physi-
 cian of Liberty; as a merchant, a General,
 an Admiral; || who hath taken upon him not
 only the task of a *parochial*, but the more im-

See *Estimo*
 Vol. II.
 p. 23, 24.

Vol. II.
 p. 28.

p. 53.

* p. 81.
 † p. 124.
 ‡ p. 190.

|| p. 125.

B

portant

portant and arduous one of a *national* preacher; that is, who is instituted to a parish, and holds the Nation in Commendam, by his own Authority.

After this Character of him, from so undoubted an Authority, as the declarations and intimations of his own book, what modest man will controvert any positions, authorised by the writer of the Estimate? Is not he one of those few, who “ * dare descend and penetrate to the foundations of political Happiness and Stability? one of those, † who “ can find out the original cause, why the “ political Arch gives way?”

‡ p. 22. The ‡ penetrating *Machiavel* has some vulgar Errors; the incomparable *Montesquieu* || forms a fine System, to the “ Completion of “ which he sometimes tortures both Argument and Fact.” Whereas this, their immortal Successor, § ever maintains an invariable regard for Truth; “ * will not be intoxicated with the Fumes of literary Vanity; “ and is above other moralists, for he”
 † p. 81. † writes to the world. They only “ ‡ skim
 ‡ p. 126. “ the Surface of political Speculation.” Their
 || p. 138. objections to him are || futile, and founded in

a total Ignorance of True Politics and human nature.

In short it is the strongest mark of Dulness or § Iniquity to differ from this Gentleman, § p. 192. who sometimes differs from *Montesquieu*, and with superior Judgement corrects *Machiavel*.

All this being literally true of him, for he hath committed it to writeing himself, the Author of the following Sheets, tho' stupid enough, to imagine some things in the Estimate a little absurd, others a little ridiculous; some not perfectly clear, others not perfectly true; yet was determined to acquiesce, rather than dispute any part of it, in the usual Forms of Controversy. But, considering the uncommon Candor, diffused throughout that excellent work, it occurred, that possibly the humble method of objecting, in the way of *Doubts*, might not offend the writer.

This is a clear and true account, why the present piece is intituled *DOUBTS*, which being stated, we next enter upon the *Doubts* themselves.



S E C T. I.

Of the CRITICS on the ESTIMATE.

S E C T. I. **I**N page 12. of Vol. II. of the Estimate it is thus written; “ He hath heard too
 “ of certain written Criticisms on his Estimate : But if he does not read, how can it
 “ be expected, he should answer them ?”

This is smartly said, and throws a fine contempt upon the Scribblers, who have given a loofe to their envious Malignity. I have but one fmall doubt to fuggelt upon it. Is it *truly* said ? He cannot well answer what he has not read. This is true. But as he has endeavored, throughout his book, to *answer*, one would humbly prefume, that he has *read* the Critics againft him. One would humbly prefume it, as he is an Author, and probably of like paffions and Infirmities with other Authors, his inferior Brethren ; and however

cold

cold and callous superior Abilities may render him to the opinion of the public, we are told by an Author of some note, that the Spirit of Authorship, *expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret.* S E C T.
I

The writer of the Estimate certainly stands clear of all literary Vanity. His language is that of a plain unaffected man. Perhaps there was never so modest a piece presented to the world. Yet the world will be perverse enough to think, that this perfect Character, this great national preacher of Virtue, is probably incumbered with so much at least of human Frailty, as to be anxious for the preservation of “ * that unsought dignity, that envied “ Superiority to wealth and Titles, which the “ love of wisdom and Virtue have given “ him.” * p. 263

Might he not wish to find this Dignity and Superiority acknowledged by some of his Critics ? or in Condescending to read them, might not he, tho’ invulnerable on all sides, look for the supreme Delight of laughing at their vain attempts to wound him ? Or if any of them, the dull monthly Critics for instance, should wickedly prophane so great a name as

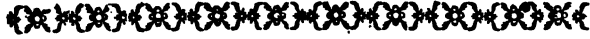
S E C T. I. his, might he not gratify another gentle passion of Authorship, by chastising them, with such Language, as, in vulgar writers, would be deemed low Scurrility, but in him, Heroic Indignation ?

He does not appear, from any unbecoming bitterness of expression in his book, to have read them. He speaks of them, and all his enemies, with a meekness worthy of his Character. But still he *answers* them ; he betrays a Concern for Reputation ; and tho' he has with much Calmness *heard* of the various accusations against him, it seems doubtful, whether he did not lend an *Eye*, as well as an *Ear*. I wish it were decent, to put the question to his upright Heart and Conscience ; for I most heartily revere the venerable Character he gives of himself. But the Denial, tho' indirect, of this probability, has raised, in me at least, such an opinion of his Veracity in this instance, as I cannot surmount.

Pardon me, Sir, for doubting. I have grounds to affirm and to prove ; but to affirm and to prove against you, would be insolent. Give me leave only to remind you of the

the *Irish* Gentleman, who having neglected **S E C T.**
 to answer a letter of consequence, told his **I.**
 friend the first time he met him, I beg your
 pardon for not having answered your letter,
 but upon my Soul I did not receive it.





S E C T. II.

Of MATRIMONY in HIGH-LIFE.

S E C T.
II.

OUR Author, from a tender concern for his fair Countrywomen, dwells much upon the regular and pleasant propagation of the human Species. But as Zeal is apt to surmount little obstacles of truth, some things are asserted, of which again I feel a strong impulse to doubt.

He affirms, page 56 & 57, that “ modern matrimony in high-life is *generally* neither determined by Beauty, Virtue, Sense, Birth, or the fairest Union of amiable Qualities ; but *most commonly* by the most sordid views of wealth, or powerfull Alliance.”

This is so strong a Fact, and so roundly asserted, that we must suppose our Author perfectly

fectly clear in the truth of it. Yet observation and Experience render it very disputable, and tho' it seems in him to be rather more than opinion, it may appear, upon examination, to be founded in something less than evidence. The only way of deciding it is, to review the matches among the Great for twenty years past, and the only Judges are, persons acquainted with that part of life. I am told that if the Fact were thus examined, most marriages in high-life would appear to have resulted from the natural motives of Beauty, Virtue, &c. and some few of them from the sordid views he mentions. If this be true, one would judge, that *most commonly* marriages were made, and Children begot, in the manner, in which Nature and Reason direct they should.

S E C T.
II.

I speak chiefly on this head from the observation of others. Possibly his Ideas of Beauty and amiable Qualities may be singular; in which Case it must be admitted, as matter of respect to his quality of Censor, that the rest of the world has not so clear a right to differ from him, as he has to differ from the rest of the world. And it will farther appear from his observation, that no person of Rank is so well

S E C T. well qualified to judge for himself, in a matter, which intirely affects his own taste, and the happiness of his whole life, as this ingenious writer is to judge for him.

II.

But we are presented in the same page with a proof. Seventeen Divorces, in one Court of Judicature, in one year! I beg leave to question, whether the Cognizance of Causes of that kind belongs to more than one Court of Judicature? at least it seems not to belong to all those in Westminster Hall. I doubt again, whether more than seventeen Divorces were depending in that Court, for nineteen years before? If so, the Sum total of Divorces for twenty years did not amount to two in a year. Too many indeed for a Christian Country, but, in proportion to the number of marriages, hardly sufficient, to characterise the Age, or to prove, that marriages are *most commonly* contracted upon sordid views.

S E C T.



S E C T. III.

Of the UNIVERSITIES.

IT is matter of great Uncertainty from his book, at which of our two Universities this Phenomenon of the literary world was educated. It should seem from his account of their produce, p. 68, 69. that both had shared in the honor of producing him; and yet it should seem from his candid and generous treatment of those learned Bodies, from his extreme tenderness for their reputation, as if he had been privately suckled, by some more liberal Nurse, whose Milk was impregnated with that Benevolence and Candor, which graces and sweetens his Estimate.

S E C T.
III.

Be that as it may, I humbly presume to question the Justice of those friendly Censures he passes on them. My doubts are not singly founded on my own observation. If they
were,

S E C T.
III.

were, I might humble myself and yield to his opinion, though it should accidentally not be founded in any observations.

But I have been told, before the Second Volume of the Estimate was published, by men, whose words will pass for Argument, that usefull Learning was never in a more flourishing state in both Universities, that Colleges were never under more regular Discipline, that Tutors in general are distinguished by their Diligence and Gravity, that they have sent forth pupils, no less distinguished by Virtue, than Rank; and that these Seminaries of Religion, Virtue and Learning are at present the pride, and will once more become the principal Support, of the Community.

Had this been affirmed, since the public sat for the second time to this great master, it might have been justly treated as futile. But it impressed an unhappy prejudice upon me, for it was said before; by various persons, rather Good than Great; but very good; and some of it was said by one of them in public, on a solemn Day, and hazarded in
print



Seriousness and Truth. **S E C T.**
 ent Sermon on the Fast, **III.**
 University of Oxford,
 leave, or for once with-
 Author of the Estimate,
 the following words :

not wanting many amia-
 irtue and Piety, among
 r Rank and Fortune in
 whom several lately were,
 if I add) some yet con-
 nament and Boast of this
 earning : whose Candles,
 dlesticks, may give light
 1 the House : I mean,
 amples, when advanced
 tations, which they are

preparing --- ves to fill, may diffuse
 “ their benign Influence into the remotest
 “ Corners of the Land, and be the blessed
 “ Instruments of Providence for recovering
 “ its Virtue, and lengthening its Tranquility,
 “ through Ages yet to come”.

S E C T.



S E C T. IV.

Of RIDING.

S E C T.
IV. **T**HE Author had said in his first Volume, that the manly Exercife of Riding is *generally difufed*. He doth not intirely retract it in this, tho' he acknowledges that Riding is *ftill in Vogue* ; but he descends to vulgar apprehenfions, and explains what he meant, by faying, it is difufed. He objects to the Design, the Form and Manner, the place where, the time when, the perfons by whom, the Horfes upon which, and, in fhort, he leaves nothing uncondemned, but the Boots and Spurs.

I have feveral doubts on this head. In the first place I am not clear, that Riding is properly called a *manly* Exercife. Our Author has raifed this doubt in his former Volume, where,

where, tho' he describes it so, he seems to admire Queen Elizabeth, who is said to have been of the *feminine* Gender, for riding on Horseback to St. Paul's.

SECT.
IV.

Some superficial Investigators of nature tell us, that the most natural Exercise is Walking, and that Riding was Invented, partly for Ease, and partly for Expedition; and is no farther manly, than as every useful Invention of Reason is so. If these Gentlemen are well founded, it seems a matter indifferent, in point of morals, whether the Rider capers on a Hobby, or gallops full speed on a fiery Hunter; and Nature, Reason, and the Laws of the Land, seem to have left both Sexes at liberty, to chuse which kind of Succussion they please.

Hence I am not clear, whether either of them should be severely censured for their Choice; and I am very doubtfull, whether the State is in any degree endangered, or the temporal and eternal Happiness of mankind at all impaired, when a person of Quality carries the privilege of his Rank so far, as to take the benefit of a reflected Sun-Beam, in a place of public Resort.

But

S E C T.
IV.

But Chairs, Coaches and Post-Chariots, our Author intimates, are abominable Corruption. If they are a perversion of that which is good, they are certainly Corruptions. If they are an Increase of that which is good, I am not sure, whether they are not *Improvements*. Now Riding was an Ease to the Walker; Coaches and Chairs seem to be a greater Ease.

I will not incur his Displeasure in a dispute about mere Words. Perhaps this ingenious Author has a Language of his own, and may chuse to call those things by the name of *Corruptions*, or by some word synonymous to that, which the rest of the world agree in styling Conveniences and *Improvements*.

Queen Elizabeth, it is true, rode on Horseback to St. Paul's. It would somewhat lessen the merit of that great event in her Life, if it should appear, that one of her Majesty's Reasons was, the want of a Coach. Queen Caroline, who was also a very sensible Queen, would probably have chosen some other Conveyance, less manly and more commodious, provided it could have been done without offence to the Author of the Estimate.

S E C T.



S E C T. V.

Of the MANNERS of WOMEN.

Nothing manifests a *severe Impartiality* more, than to be severe upon those, to whom the rest of the world is unanimously partial. Our Author, who never says a severe thing, but with the utmost reluctance, makes a great Sacrifice of politeness, if not of Veracity, to his Zeal for the Effeminacy of the female part of his Charge.

S E C T.
V.

“The manners of the Sexes, he tells us, “are confounded.” There are some obvious instances of this, which seem to have escaped this acute Gentleman’s observation, I mean of men, who talk and reason, like the aged part of the other Sex. I grant, there are *Fribbles* and *Daffodils* and *Messalina’s*, but they seem to be not so common in either House of Parliament, or at Court, or at the

C

places

S E C T. V. places of Diversion, which he tells us he frequents, in Quality of national preacher, as *Manly* men and *Tender* women. I should imagine they are rather uncommon, being usually pointed out, and described, by no other Characteristic, so much, as their unnatural Metamorphosis.

I must therefore beg leave to question the prevalence of that * “ male-Insensibility, which modesty cannot attract, and of that Impudence necessary to allure or take it by “ Violence”. I say, I must *question* it, upon the authority of public observation; for it would be presumptuous to *affirm*, in contradiction to what our Author may have experienced, in the Circle of his own acquaintance.

But if I had no doubts of the truth of the Charge; if he should put me to the blush with a list of *Messalina's*, of which I had never thought or heard before, I should still have another doubt, whether the ingenious account of the Manners of Women, as it stands p. 81. be altogether CHAST.

S E C T.



S E C T. VI.

Of MEN of FORTUNE in TOWN.

* “ I T is become, we are told, a *great* and
 “ general Evil, that *every* man of For- S E C T.
VI.
 “ tune hath now a *splendid* house in town,
 “ where his forefathers were *contented* with a * P. 72.
 “ temporary Lodging. Here he passeth, at
 “ least *Half* the Year : By which means, the
 “ antient and *generous* Hospitality of the
 “ Country is neglected and derided ; and a
 “ kind of *polished Selfishness* takes place. The
 “ *honest* peasant is racked to the *last* Excess ;
 “ and the Villages are *immediately drained*
 “ of their *natural* Wealth, &c.”

I have so many doubts in this Paragraph,
 that to impress them upon the Reader, I
 have pointed them out by Italics, before I
 reduce them to the form of Questions.

I would ask, Has *every* man of Fortune a
 House, and a *splendid* house, in Town ?

C 2

Why

S E C T.
VI.

Why were his Forefathers *contented* with a temporary Lodging? and is it clear, that they were *contented*? Does *every* man of fortune pass at least *half* the year in Town? Is it certain, that the ancient Hospitality of the Country was *generous*? might it not be superstitious in some cases, or ostentatious, or designing, or the Cause of Idleness, or a Scene of Debauchery, or a mere Compliance with Custom? Is not a *polished Selfishness* better, than *Rusticity*, which is *unpolished* Selfishness? Is it a great evil, that a Selfishness, which will be part of our Constitution, whether we live in Town or Country, hath been polished, by a more general Communication with the Capital? Is the peasant generally a more *honest* man than his Landlord? Is it a *just* Complaint, that the *honest* peasant is racked to the last Excess? or is there a *general* complaint of a different kind, that the *honest* peasant is become so rich, that he can afford to bring a Famine upon his Country, by withholding his Stock of Corn from the Market? What is the natural Wealth of a Village? Is it *immediately drained* of its natural Wealth, because a Gentleman of Fortune makes use of his *own* Wealth, in an innocent Journey to town, for that part of the year,

year, when the Country is tolerable only to S E C T.
those, who delight in Sports, or are obliged VI.
to labour?

These several Queries occurred to me within the Compass of ten lines of our accurate Author's work. I beg leave to add to them one, which the Reader is at liberty to apply to any other part of the said work; whether a national preacher, when he finds it expedient to accuse any Person or Bodies of men, ought not to express himself with some degree of precision? or if he chance to be inaccurate, whether it is not more desirable for his Credit, that the mistake should be on the side of Candor and Benevolence, than on the opposite side?



~~Sec. VII. Of the Servants of the Great.~~

S E C T. VII.

Of the SERVANTS of the GREAT.

S E C T.
VII.

• p. 85.

† p. 212.

IN the Article of Servants in the Houses of the modern Great *, the Author has the misfortune of being somewhat equivocal in his expressions. It is hard to distinguish, which Sex of Servants he means to stigmatize, by the soft appellation of a graceless and abandoned Crew. † “ Prudence might whisper Caution on this occasion ;” for his book, if we may judge from the number of Editions, has been universally read, and all the Refinements of it perfectly understood by the Females of that Condition. But I will suppose both Sexes to be meant, for, extreme as his good nature is, it would be injurious, to suppose it poured out more copiously upon female Servants, than it had been before upon their respective Ladies.

We are told, that *almost every* great Family affords, among the Servants, a Scene of the
workings

workings of unbridled Passions: As it seems necessary to frequent the Servants Hall, in order to be a perfect Judge of this, most Readers will take the Author's word, rather than this necessary method of informing themselves. But if we consider the Servants of the Great as possessed, like others of the human Species, with a natural Sense of Shame, one would suspect this charge to be exaggerated; and I must doubt, whether the workings of unbridled Passions is not a general Charge, providently kept in readiness, *to be applied at random, to any object, either incapable or unworthy, of a minute examination.

SECRET
VII

My reason for thus doubting is, that it seems to me to be somewhat inconvenient to have a family of Servants, who are agitated by the workings of unbridled Passions, and profligate to such an Excess, that from * “ Scenes “ of unprincipled Licentiousness they *necessa-* “ *rily* come forth Pick-pockets, Prostitutes, “ Thieves, Highwaymen and Murderers”. It is rather unpleasant and unsafe, to live under the same Roof with fifteen or twenty Persons of that Description, and seems therefore at least a question, whether masters, who, if

* p. 36.

S E C T. he has caught their ruling features, are excessively luxurious and effeminate, and consequently must above all things desire Pleasure and Safety, will suffer so graceless and abandoned a Crew to interrupt their Ease and endanger their Safety ?



S E C T.



S E C T. VIII.

Of the HUMANITY of the TIMES.

THE Generality of Readers little consider, what Parts it requires to produce a Book. They pass thro' it, as they pass over Westminster Bridge, with a perfect inattention to the Pains, the Time, the Circumspection, the Comprehension, requisite to provide them an easy, safe, and pleasant passage. Without great Care the Author Digresses; without great Spirits, he Flags; and with all his Care and Circumspection, he now and then, insensibly, contradicts himself.

S E C T.
VIII.

The Writer of the Estimate had, in his first volume, acknowledged and applauded the Humanity of the Age. His System was not then come to maturity, and he perhaps did not foresee, how much it would be crossed, by admitting this manifest truth. It is
now

S E C T. now unfortunately, become expedient to assert,
 VIII. that the Age is too effeminate and selfish, to
 ——— entertain a genuine lasting Humanity.

How is it possible to reconcile this with the former Concession? or rather, how is it possible to reconcile the Facts, which evince the Humanity of the times, with the Charge, which alleges their Selfishness? A mere honest man would have given up the Charge; but a great Author being above vulgar prejudices was concerned to support it, at the expence of the Facts. We are told, p. 97, that “where Humanity hath its chief foundation in effeminate manners, as at present, there it amounts to no more than temporary Starts of Pity. Enlarged views of Benevolence are quite beyond the Reach of such a people.”

I need not answer this, for it is answered p. 21, of Vol. I. where are mentioned, as proofs of a national Humanity, “many noble Foundations for the Relief of the miserable and Friendless,” not as temporary Starts of pity, but as supported by large annual Supplies from voluntary Charities. He mentions besides, the “frequent and generous Assist-

“ Assistance given to the Unfortunate, who
 “ cannot be admitted into these Founda-
 “ tions.”

S E C T.
 VIII.

As this Account of the Humanity of the Age is notoriously true, the Capital being surrounded and fortified against Slander, by Houses of Mercy; it seems to follow, that what is said of Humanity in the Second Volume, is not quite so indisputable, as one would expect an ignominious Charge to be. But let not the gentle Reader be too precipitate in condemning. The writer tells us, that “ he * understands his Subject before he * p. 125.
 “ talks upon it.” If both sides of a Contradiction be true, we do not understand his Subject. Possibly the third Volume may clear up many things, which are left in the Second, seemingly inexplicable and inconsistent.

S E C T.



S E C T. IX.

Of the IGNORANCE of the GREAT.

S E C T.
IX.

BY the *Great* we may presume is meant, the collective Body of Persons of Rank, or Fortune, or both. By *Ignorance* should be meant, the want of every usefull knowlege. These two Ideas the Author combines in the following words. * “The general Ignorance of the Great world is no Secret to the rest of mankind.” The Reader will be pleased to observe, that this is thrown out as a Reproach against the present, as distinguished from former Ages; and that it is made an argument of the Effeminacy of the Times.

* P. 104.

I humbly intreat this great writer, in the name of the accused Nobility and Gentry, to solve the following Queries. What kind of usefull knowlege is there, which most of them are not taught? In what period of our History

tory

tory were they more learned than at present? S E C T.
IX.
 we have heard of a Lord Herbert in one age,
 a Lord Shaftsbury in another, and a Lord
 Bolingbroke in a third. Surely these are not
 the names, which our Author would set up
 as Reproaches to the Nobility of our Days;
 and if he should, they appear to have been
 almost singular, as learned men of Quality,
 in their respective times, and so prove little
 more, than the Ignorance of their Contem-
 porary Peers. Perhaps the truth is, that our
 Author, with all his Sagacity, was dazzled
 and misled, as some minds naturally are by
 that magnificence and other External, with
 which the Nobility and Gentry heretofore,
 gave a lustre to such Qualities of Heart or
 Understanding, as fell to their lot. If this
 should not be the truth, he will be pleased, in
 his next, to explain, upon what other grounds
 he prefers them, in point of Learning to their
 present Descendents.

But the Reader would be tired with Queries
 on this Subject. The Appeal lies to public
 Experience. I have made it to several per-
 sons much conversant in high life, who have
 the Effrontery to tell me, notwithstanding
 what is written in the Estimate, that, all
 things

S E C T. things considered, (which may be expected,
IX. in a general indiscriminate Charge, upon the
 most respectable body of men in the State)
 persons of fashion were never less chargeable
 with Ignorance, than in the present times.

It will appear probable, that there is some
 truth in this, if we consider, what sort of
 learning the writer of the Estimate points out
 to those high personages, as “ creditable to
 “ themselves, and useful to their Country;”
 • p. 108. it is that, which “ * teaches men to live well,
 “ and to govern well; how parents, masters,
 “ and magistrates should rule; and how Chil-
 “ dren, Servants and Subjects should obey.”
 This it seems is the Learning of the Great in
 China, and is here humbly prescribed to the
 nobles of Great Britain.

I would not deprive an illustrious Author,
 whose “ main object is the permanency or
 “ duration of the State,” of the merit of any
 great discovery; else I could insinuate, that
 the same discovery has been made, and re-
 commended, not only to the nobility, but to
 all Ranks in the kingdom, in a little piece,
 which was published upwards of two hundred
 years ago, and has since passed thro’ several
 editions, intitled, the CHURCH CATECHISM.

S E C T.



S E C T. X.

Of the NEGLECT *of* MEN *of* GENIUS
and LEARNING.

WE may sometimes judge from the S E C T.
X.
Air and manner of a Traveller, not only from whence he comes, but whither he is going. Our Author had informed us, in his first Volume upon the authority of *Cicero*, that “*plerique ad honores adipiscendos, et*
“ *ad rempublicam gerendam, nudi veniunt*
“ *atque inermes, nullâ cognitione rerum, nul-*
“ *lâ scientiâ ornati.*” These things are seldom said without cause of some kind or other, tho’ often without just Cause. I expected, at the time, we should hear something more of the matter.

Accordingly we read p. 112, of Vol. II.
that literary patronage and Encouragement is
gene-

S E C T. generally extinguished ; that a “ few disin-
X. “ terested and daring Spirits have neglect for
 “ their known Reward ; that some respect-
 “ able men still patronise Letters ; but these
 “ depart from the common Degeneracy
 “ of their time and Country ; the general
 “ Character of the Age is quite the Reverse
 “ of this ; and implies a general want of Ca-
 “ pacity in the higher Ranks, because *all* men
 “ of Letters love men of Letters, and *all*
 “ men of Ignorance despise and hate them.”

“ It must be confessed, says our Author,
 “ that men of Genius and Learning do not
 “ abound.” He reduces them to a mighty
 small number, and celebrates, I think, no
 more than one, who has deservedly been pro-
 moted within this twelvemonth. But the E-
 vil seems not yet removed ; for the Complaint
 is stronger in the second Volume, than it was
 in the first. There is then one more learned
 object, at least, of the notice of the Great,
 who is left neglected. The Reader may possi-
 bly discover him in perusing the Estimate,
 for tho’ “ the * expressions of that Book are
 “ sometimes indirect, the meaning of the
 “ Author is clear.”

* p. 212.

If

If there be any weight in this Conjecture, I heartily wish so great an Evil may be removed, and the general Capacity of the higher Ranks vindicated from an imputation, which seems to be founded in something else, than the disputable observation, that *all* men of Letters love each other, and that *all* men of Ignorance despise them.

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One or two instances will serve to render this doubtful of *all* men of Letters. Dr. Bentley was a man of letters. The history of his life will shew, that he was not passionately partial to men of knowlege and Letters. Dr. Middleton again had his share of Learning, but most of us remember, that he was not upon the best terms with the Scholars of his time.

On the other hand, it may be doubted, whether men of Ignorance are generally remarkable for despising and hating men of Knowlege. It is thought, that these were never more revered, than in the Days of Ignorance ; and our Author himself seems to contradict his Assertion, by founding his just

D

pre-

S E C T. **X.** pretensions to Esteem and Regard, from the present Age, in his just pretences to superior knowledge.

My Reader will be pleased to look back the Introduction of these Doubts.



SEC



S E C T. XI.

Of the CLERGY.

I Must beg leave under this head, to disclose S E C T.
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a little secret of writing, which not being
universally understood, the innocent Reader
may chance to be misled, by thinking an Au-
thor *serious*, when he is quite *unmeaning*.

Every part of a Book is no more meant to
instruct, than every Dish upon the Table is
meant to nourish. The Reader must have a
Figure, as well as the Guest; and those *Drama-
tis personæ*, which are supernumerary, as to
the main design of the work, are essential to
the perfection of it.

This will sometimes account for the seem-
ingly impertinent introduction of a Clergyman,

D 2

in

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in a picture, a Song, a Novel, or a Satire. The poet and painter, tho' in perfect Charity with all orders of men, are under the necessity of traduceing here and there a whole order, to fill up a little Chasm, or to give a small relief to their piece. Thus the ingenious Author of the Estimate, knowing that a general Satire upon the times would be imperfect, whilst the Clergy were untouched, gives them rather more than their due in the first Volume, probably with the candid intention of making reparation in the second.

Accordingly, it is in some fort retracted in p. 118, of vol. II. but not so absolutely, as to preclude the Repetition of the same Charge, in the very next page, against the principal persons of the order, with only this gentle Extenuation, that what is affirmed of them is *generally*, not *universally*, true.

- p. 119. The Charge is, that * “ the younger part
“ of them are given up to views of pleasure ;
“ the elder to views of Gain.” If the superior Clergy should appear in general, to deserve a better Character, it will be pity our Author did not do them Justice, because his purpose might have been answered full as well. If
they

they should appear not to deserve this Character more, in the present, than in any former Age, then it will seem not wholly pertinent in the Estimate, which professes to demonstrate, that this is the worst of all Ages. If they should appear to be less superstitious, less arrogant, Disclaimers of powers inconsistent with the Rights of mankind, Defenders of Christianity upon rational principles, Assertors of Christian Charity towards protestant Dissenters, and zealous for the Support of a protestant Government, in opposition to the Claims of a popish Family; if all this may honestly be said of the present superior, as well as middling and inferior Clergy, then one may venture to doubt, whether, with respect at least to the permanency and Duration of the State, they are not preferable to the majority of their predecessors, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, at the Abdication of James the Second, and in the *honest* and *prosperous* days of Queen Ann.

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I do not obtrude these, as *Assertions*, upon the world, on my own Authority. I leave the Clergy to vindicate themselves; and would only suggest, that possibly a passage, with which our Author innocently meant to deco-

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XI.

rate his piece, may, by not being strictly true, prove injurious to that usefull body of men, and mischievous to the world, by undermining their Credit in it.

I must take occasion here to observe, to our Author's honor, a striking instance of his *severe impartiality*. He had done indisputable Justice to some great Characters in other professions. He had celebrated an illustrious person, who for many years filled and adorned the Seat of Equity. He had justly extolled the great Genius of the Theatre, and had confirmed by his Encomiums the opinion, which the public has long entertained of an eminent writer. Whence is it that, in his own profession, not a Character occurred, except this last, worthy of the least notice from his masterly pen?

I could point out some prelates, who would have graced any Age of the Church, by their Learning, their Hospitality, their government of their Diocesses, and their Government of themselves and their Families. I could name one in particular, who by a long and faithfull discharge of the pastoral Care, has raised himself to such general estimation, as to
be

be exalted to the highest Rank in his order, S E C T.
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 with the Applause of the whole Kingdom ;
 another, who, by learnedly explaining, and
 strenuously asserting, Christian liberty, against
 the Encroachments of Superstition and Bi-
 gotry, has advanced farther than any before
 him, towards completing the Designs of the
 Reformation ; a third, who has presented the
 world with a Collection of Discourses, which
 do immortal honor to his Time and Country.

I could name more, but will not increase
 the Reader's wonder at the omission of such
 Characters, in an Estimate of the times. I
 impute it to the *severe* Impartiality of the
 Author, without subscribing to the Conjecture
 of those sagacious Critics, who find out other
 Causes, who insinuate, that those great names
 did not come within the Design of the Esti-
 mate, his Grace of Canterbury not having
 been promoted to that See, when the second
 volume was committed to the press ; and the
 Bishops of London and Winchester being un-
 happily arrived to the wrong side of fourscore.



S E C T. XII.

Of the ARMY and NAVY.

S E C T.
XII.

AFTER the grave and ingenious Reasonings of our Author upon the Idleness, Luxury, Immorality and Irreligion of the Gentlemen of the Army and Navy, I should be sorry to see the Distress, to which an Officer might reduce his ingenuous mind, by remonstrating in a serious way, upon the authority of natural and revealed Religion, as well as of all the received principles of Decency, Honour, and common Justice, “ that
 “ to stigmatize a whole Body of men for the
 “ Conduct of a few Individuals is illiberal,
 “ vulgar, immoral and unchristian; that in
 “ a Case, where no opportunity offers of vindicating themselves by Facts, it is cruel;
 “ that to deprectate the Land-Officers, whilst it
 “ is

“ is our happiness to be exempted from any
 “ experience of their merit, partly perhaps
 “ by the Enemy’s opinion of their military
 “ virtues, is ungenerous and impolitic;
 “ that they are very much obliged to a
 “ moralist, who whilst he is exposing vice
 “ in general, recommends to them Gross
 “ Vices, rather than Refined ones; that
 “ the younger part of them never thought
 “ of consulting a moral Book to deter-
 “ mine their Choice; and that those, whose
 “ passions subside, are as grave, manly,
 “ and virtuous, as the officers of any Army
 “ in Europe; that the Navy has not re-
 “ ceived the least Blemish from what may
 “ be called the Condemnation, rather than
 “ the Conduct, of one Commander; that
 “ his Case, so far from leaving an impu-
 “ tation upon the Service, reflects a singular
 “ honor upon that Branch, in which the
 “ only officer of consequence, who has suf-
 “ fered judicially, was declared innocent in
 “ the same breath, which pronounced Sen-
 “ tence against him; but that, whatever
 “ were the merits of his Case, many instances
 “ of Bravery, since that time, might have
 “ convinced a Candid writer, that Sea Offi-
 “ cers are at least as intent upon annoying
 “ the

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XII.

“ the Enemy’s Fleets, as upon catching
 “ prizes ; that these are popular invectives,
 “ seldom adopted by good men, without a
 “ minute Examination of Facts and Charac-
 “ ters ; that the Enemy’s Historians will pro-
 “ bably do Justice to the British Officers of
 “ the present Age ; and that it is rather hard
 “ to be under the necessity of appealing to
 “ them, and to be injuriously represented in a
 “ Book, professing Religion and Virtue,
 “ and written by a member of the gravest of
 “ all professions, whilst they are distant from
 “ home, hazarding their Limbs and Lives in
 “ defence of their Country.”



S E C T.



S E C T. XIII.

Of the AUTHOR and HIMSELF.

THE Alliance between a man and himself has in all Ages of the world been, except in some few instances, too close, to be dissolved by the united Efforts of Wisdom and Virtue. When we hear of the Selfishness of the times, we hear of no more, than a strict observation of this alliance, diversified according to the modes of different Ages and Countries. Our Author is as faithful in observing it, as if all the Powers in Europe were Guarantees. Whatever Subject he is upon, Himself is the Cause and the End. He and Himself are the Beginning, the Middle and the Conclusion of the second Volume, and give life and colouring to the whole. There are very few pages, in which he forgets himself, or if he does, he takes due Care that his Reader may not forget him.

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Some

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XIII.

Some have doubted of the Decency, others of the Expediency, and others again of the Morality of this. I will state their doubts, without entertaining any of my own, that our Author will not fully answer and confute them.

It has been questioned, how far a Writer, any more than a Talker, can decently expose too much of himself. It is said, that there are, in every Character, some Pudenda, which though not criminal, are not designed for ostentation; that the most modest man may know and feel them, but it is questionable, whether a man of common modesty can lay them before the world without blushing; that a desire, for instance, of being thought perfect in Morals, unbounded in Capacity, superior to other men of the same Rank, and qualified for a general Reformer, is a desire, which any man may secretly entertain, without much offence to the world, and as it grows familiar to him, without grievous offence to himself; but when this weak and vain desire makes its appearance before the world, it changes its nature, and is thought by all, except the man and himself, a strange Indecency. It

It has been doubted again, how far it may be expedient, in point of Prudence, for a Writer to shew so much of himself? whether the Author of the Estimate has gained any Accession of Esteem by his second Volume, where the world sees more of him, than in the first? whether the Excellencies of any Character are as Infinite, as the man's delight in dwelling upon them? whether the Reader deserves not some consideration, he having likewise a Self, which will naturally be roused and rebel, when a Writer attempts to eject it, and to fill the Reader's mind and heart intirely with HIM-SELF? whether this quarrel may not end in high words; and, as the Author is but one, and his Friends are not many, whereas his Readers are innumerable, it is doubted, whether the Struggle between one Self and ten or twenty thousand Selves, may not occasion him to be run down beyond his Strength, and divested of some of the Credit, necessary to carry on this important work?

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Others yet more severe, dispute the morality of interspersing in a Book of Morals, a thing

S E C T. thing so foreign to the pretended object and
XHI. Design of the Book, as the Temper and
 Character, the Calmness and the Resentments,
 the Greatness and Importance, and even the
 Innocent Amusements of the Author. Mar-
 cus Antoninus, Montaigne, Huetius, Colley
 Cibber and others, are, it is said, not strictly
 precedents for this Book, which is written in
 a time of imminent Danger, when the Politi-
 cal Arch is giving way, and the Author un-
 dertakes to shew the cause, and save his
 Country.

Is it moral, say these Critics, for HIMSELF
 to be perpetually buzzing about the Reader,
 and diverting his attention from no less an ob-
 ject, than the Reformation of all Ranks and
 orders of men? may it not be expected, that
 Zeal for Religion and Virtue, for the Honour
 and safety of his Country, should be the pre-
 dominant Passion of such a writer? and may
 it not be suspected, that a violent passion for
 Self, not only in preference to all other men,
 but in preference even to his own subject, does
 predominate?

He is charged with frequenting public pla-
 ces of Dissipation, whilst he impeaches those
 of

of his own order for this, as a neglect of their Duty. He admits the Fact, and presents his * Apology.

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* p. 121.

It amounts to this, that his Life and his Work are two distinct things ; that other Clergymen are not justified in frequenting these places, because they do not write Estimates ; that he is a philosopher of the world, not of the Closet ; that it is more fitting, his writings should vindicate his Life, than that his Life should inculcate his writings ; that he has pretensions to be every where ; and that it is his will and pleasure, at all Events, to continue to visit every Scene of false Gaiety.

If the Reader should not be perfectly satisfied with this Apology, it still has so much weight, that I am persuaded the Author is.

S E C T.



S E C T. XIV.

Of POPERY and PROTESTANTISM.

S E C T.
XIV.

WHat is a Book, without a Paradox ? It may be useful and valuable in many respects; but it excites no extraordinary Attention, it discovers no extraordinary Genius. Our Author seems sensible of this. He professes himself, I believe very truly, a Friend to the Revolution, but dates the Ruin of these Kingdoms from that Æra. He entertains the warmest Zeal for Protestantism, but endeavors to shew, that Popery is the more active Religion, with regard to Conquest, to the national Spirit of Defence, and to the Duration of a State.

Now as these are the declared objects of his work, the Duration of the State in particular, it should seem, as if the Comparifon of Popery and Protestantism was meant, to point out to the State, which Religion it is most expedient to protect. This might be
done,

done, without giving a moral or rational preference to Popery. Accordingly, the *religious* merits are declared throughout to be on the side of Protestantism, and the *political* merits to be strongly on the other side.

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But we are told of another End and Design, in stating the Case so unfavorably to the Religion and Liberties of this Country. It was to spirit up the Nation to be active, in support of the great Supporter of Protestantism abroad.

It is not improbable, that if his Prussian Majesty could enter deeply into Speculations of this kind, with as unbiaſſed an Impartiality, as that of our Author, he would ſet about to extirpate the proteſtant Religion in his Dominions. For it may be preſumed, that he would chuſe the Religion, which appears to him moſt permanent.

The British Parliament has granted considerable Succours to this incomparable Hero. I join in the public Applauſe of the meaſure ; but much queſtion, if it was taken upon the principles laid down in the Eſtimate. It would appear rather impolitic, to expend the
E national

S E C T. national Treasure in support of a Religion
XIV. which must, in its own nature, sink into Indifference, that is, tend to Dissolution, in opposition to a Religion which is in its own nature permanent and productive of Conquest.

There may be too much truth in the Charge upon Protestantism, that it is not quite so vigorous a principle of Conduct, as it was heretofore. But what principle ever retained its Vigor long, in the Body of a people? and how can this be fairly pronounced extinct, without a Trial in a day of Action? It has never yet failed upon Trial.

The Waldenses brought a powerful Duke of Savoy to Terms; the Protestants in the Netherlands were a match for the Fury and Bigotry of Spanish papists, in possession of the Government; the protestants under Gustavus Adolphus were the admiration of all Europe. To come nearer home, the same principle operated at the Boyne, and it subsisted, within our memories, with some degree of Force, during the last Rebellion.

On the other hand, Popery may be presumed not so active a principle, as it has been
in

in former days. The Spanish and Portuguese Governments have suffered a Ray or two of Light to break in upon them. In France there is hardly a man of Sense, who does not despise the Fopperies of his Religion; and among the many Converts made in Great Britain, which is too just a ground of Complaint, I am told the Missionaries lament, that those, who sell their Religion, are for the most part as unstable, as might be expected.

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In this view of things, modern Protestantism seems to be in no immediate danger from modern Popery; and tho' every good man among us would rejoice, to see the spirit of the former kept up, yet it is no matter of doubt, whether it would ever revive with any degree of vigor, if what our Author affirms be incontestably true, that it is now quenched in darkness.

I envy him none of his Refinements. Some of them I read with Admiration. But he would oblige every Lover of his Country by leaving our Religion and Liberties untouched, They are always in danger of some Contusion or Dislocation in the machine of a new System. Protestantism, it seems, is rational,

S E C T. and therefore weak ; Popery is enthusiastic,
XIV. and therefore strong ; which is discovered, in
 order to reconcile to his Syſtem, what he
 thinks he has obſerved, that Popery ſubſiſts,
 and Proteſtantism declines, amidſt degenerate
 manners.

I doubt there are Exceptions, too many to
 be here recited, to various parts of his ac-
 count of the different Genius and permanency
 of the two Religions. But as the account is
 ingenious, I will not interrupt his pleaſure
 of admiring it. I would only ſuggeſt one
 objection to the whole, that if Proteſtantism
 be internally weaker than Popery, it will be
 thought to argue a Defect of Zeal and public
 Spirit, in a proteſtant Author, who, accord-
 ing to his own account, is read and applauded
 in foreign Countries, to proclaim this Weak-
 neſs to all Europe.



S E C T.



S E C T. XV.

Of PARLIAMENTARY INFLUENCE.

I Pass over about Thirty pages, in which S E C T.
XV.
our Author is neither very exceptionable,
nor very interesting; and beg leave to alight
upon one, where he seems to be terribly
alarmed.

He * “ apprehends, there is a dreadful • p. 212;
“ Evil ready to burst upon this Kingdom,
“ which hath not yet disclosed itself: but will
“ soon come to a Crisis, if not checked with
“ Speed and Vigor”.

One would imagine from this awful De-
nunciation, that the Evil had disclosed itself
singly to him, that it was a very dreadful one,
and that he had found out a Remedy. But
this is the genuine Art of Importance; for

E 3 upon

§ E C T. upon inquiry it may possibly appear, that the
 XV. Evil has been prognosticated by others, that
 — it is, according to his own account of it, not
 very dreadful in itself, and that it seems incapable of a Remedy.

I will suppose with him, by way of Caution, that the Evil does not yet exist, but may take place in some future period ; that
 “ the parliamentary Interest of the great nobility may swallow up the House of Commons ; that Thirty or Forty men of high Quality and power may go nigh to command a majority of the lower House.” I am not concerned, nor disposed, to deny that this will be an Evil, but it seems incumbent upon him to shew, after such an Alarm, that the Effects he has pointed out are dreadful, that it will necessarily produce them, and that it may be checked with Speed and Vigor.

He points out two Effects. The first is, that it would “ Destroy all honest Ambition in the younger Gentry, and check the Growth of Genius and public Spirit throughout the nation.”

It may be doubted, whether those men of high Quality and power would not select the

the ablest men of the Kingdom to be their deputies in the other house. Their own Figure and Consequence would depend upon it, and whatever Designs they might have for the Good, or the Destruction of their Country, could not well be carried on by mere Ignorance and Servility.

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It may be presumed too, that the ablest men, finding every other door of Ambition shut, would condescend to enter in at this. They might have an opportunity of serving their Country, in many instances, not connected with the views of their Constituent, and some of them, before they had time to warm their Seat, might chance to feel their own Strength, and set up for themselves, and serve their Country in other instances. So that this first seems not to be the obvious natural Effect.

The second Effect is, that the Nobility might pave the way for their own destruction; for the people, grown desperate after the loss of their Constitution, might surrender their Liberties into the hands of the Crown.

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XV.

By the *people* should be meant, the Commons in parliament assembled, else the two Cases of *Scotland* and *Denmark* are foreign to the point. But our Author could not mean the Representatives, because whether they represented the people, or the nobles; they could have no Interest, or provocation, to conspire the Ruin of either; since the Ruin of either, according to the case of *Denmark*, would involve the Ruin of both.

Indeed the danger is quite visionary, if we may believe Lord Bollingbroke, who sometimes passes with our Author for an oracle in Speculations of this kind. He tells us, in his Dissertation on parties, that “there is something, which a parliament cannot do; that a parliament cannot annul the Constitution; that it is an extravagant Case to put, to suppose the two Houses of Parliament concurring to make at once a formal Cession of their Rights and privileges, and of those of the whole nation, to the Crown, and to ask, who hath the Right, and the Means, to resist the supreme legislative power?” I answer, says he, the whole nation hath the right, and a people who deserve to enjoy Liberty,

erty, will find the means. It seems equally **SECT.**
extravagant, to suppose one House of Par- **XV.**
liament to do it, and if the people are not
bound by the Act of both in such a Case,
they certainly are less bound by one.

Why then, if one may presume to ask, are we alarmed with a parading, and a trite quotation from Lord Molesworth, which sets forth a Fact almost universally known, and not at all applicable to the Evil apprehended in this Country, where, according to Lord Bollingbroke, “ the Interests of the two Estates, with regard to property, are the same, where the two orders have no Temptation, and scarce the means of invading each other.”

But perhaps it is meant, that the collective body of the people themselves would, in their indignation, at the Influence used by thirty or forty great Lords in Elections, unite in surrendering their Rights and Liberties to the Crown.

If our Author can alarm himself with apprehensions of this kind, he is an object of pity, for he seems more susceptible of Fear,
than

S E C T. **XV.** than even the rest of this effeminate Nation.
 If the people, from whom this is apprehended, are uncorrupt, they will probably prefer even the Shadow of Liberty, to a Crown uncontrouled by Law. If they are a corrupt people, they will probably find their Account much better, in being under the influence of Great men, who, whilst a Shadow of Liberty remains, must purchase that Influence, than in being Slaves to the unlimited coercive power of the Crown.

But where is the Remedy ? the Speedy and Vigorous Check ? The Influence apprehended not being of the compulsive kind, there seems no pretence for Resistance. It may be seemingly restrained by Law, and by solemn Declaration of what is the Spirit of our Constitution. But there is no apparent restraint for that kind of Influence, to which no Law can extend, or at least, which no Law can effectually suppress.

— It will arise, in general, from the property of peers, not from the power of the peerage, and tho' we should admit, as we ought, that no Peer has a Right to interfere in the Election of members of the other House,

House, yet what Law or Constitution can hinder a noble Lord from the innocent Act of sending a Haunch of Venison to an Alderman, or of suffering a Cobler to live Rent-free? And considering the insurmountable Prejudices, which Aldermen in general have in favor of Venison, the Interest resulting from this may become as natural, as any other Interest. It may take effect in an Election, without a visible Interposition of the peer. The bare knowledge of his wishes may determine the Choice, and thus a dreadful Evil may unavoidably burst upon this Country, without the possibility of a speedy and vigorous Check.

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It puts me in mind of the Tender Fears of a compassionate good Woman, who sat weeping and alarmed at the foot of a Bridge, because it was possible, that a Grandchild of hers, not then born, might, in passing over that Bridge, fall into the River, and perish.

S E C T.



S E C T. XVI.

*Of IGNORANT and WORTHLESS MEN
in PLACE.*

S E C T.
XVI.

I Was too precipitate, in the last Section, in imagining, that parliamentary Influence was an Evil without a Remedy. I beg the Author's pardon, and retract. He proceeds from page 238, to 251, to shew the Remedy. But like a skillful Physician, he first heightens the Disease, in order to magnify the merit of the Cure.

It seemed before, as if by parliamentary Influence was chiefly meant, the Influence of the Lords over the Commons. We now hear of other very alarming Symptoms. "The notorious Incapacity, Effeminacy, Inaction, and Debility of those, who aspire to the highest and most important Trusts, are no longer doubted. All attention is turned
" on

“ on Gain or pleasure ; Duty is forgot, or
 “ laughed at ; and, in short, the nation, in
 “ all appearance, devoted to Destruction.”

S E C T.
 XVI

It may be expected by superficial Readers, considering the Author, and the Title of his Work, that a general Reformation of manners would be the nostrum. There are Expedients peculiar to every profession, which one who proceeds in the common Track would naturally propose ; at least he would be apt to propose his Expedient in the Language of his profession. A Sailor, upon hearing this Complaint of men in place, would talk of giving them a Broadside, of bearing down upon them and sinking them ; a Soldier would take them by Storm, or undermine them and blow them up ; other professions would hit upon such expedients as suited their own Ideas, or fell within their own Sphere of Action. But when a Clergyman steps forth with bitter Complaints, something more solemn and serious is expected from him, and those, who might laugh perhaps at the rest, may chance to be affected by his earnest and pressing persuasives to Repentance.

Our Author is a Genius of a higher order. There is nothing brilliant in the common
 Track

S E C T. XVI. Track of his profession. Hence we are told, p. 241. That “ a general Reformation, under “ our present Circumstance, is an idle project.” If this be true, I am afraid it will be concluded, that the Estimate of the principles and manners of the Times is an Idle Book. If there be any thing coarse in this inference, another may be drawn more reconcileable to our Author’s great understanding. The *Reformation* of worthless placemen might not answer his End, the *Removal* of them might. Perhaps they fill the posts, which his friends are better qualified to fill, or they obstruct his advancement to a Station, which none but he is qualified to fill.

Be that as it may, he tells us, “ *He must needs think*, that those who thro’ the Force “ of parliamentary, or other, Influence, are “ possessed of places of Trust and Confidence, “ for which they are in any respect Incapable, “ ought to be deprived of their Appointments.” It were to be wished that an observation, which follows in the next page, had occurred to him, when he was writing this. “ Superficial Writers, says he, talk of “ the Reformation of a State, as if it were a “ matter of no more Difficulty, than that of sweep-

‘sweeping out a Room, or clearing a China
‘Jar of Cobwebs.”

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It is hinted that there are many in high offices, notoriously Incapable, Effeminate, Inactive, and weak. If this be notoriously true, it must be confessed to be a great inconvenience to Government. But he intimates at the same time, that they are in place, thro’ the force of parliamentary or other Influence, that is thro’ the force of some Influence or other. Now if the Influence be forceable enough to keep them in place, notwithstanding their Incapacity, they will hardly be deprived, *tho’ he must needs think* they ought, and every man in or out of place, except the parties concerned, must needs think the same. Why then is a self-evident Truth so formally advanced, unless it be to display the mercy, with which his Justice is tempered, for he very seriously declares, that he has no design against their Lives?

This was not the only motive. We find in the subsequent pages, that there is a force much greater than the Force of parliamentary Influence, and this philosopher and Divine calls for the exertion of it. “The voice of

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S E C T. “ an abused people may rouse the Great into
XVI. “ Fear.” I Grant that the voice of a tumultuous people may, whether they are abused or not ; and they may rouse the Great into Fear, even tho’ the Great should be less Effeminate, than our Author represents them to be.

But upon what provocation are the Great to be roused into Fear? The single one here mentioned is, the Incapacity of men in office. I know not whom the Author means, and will do him the Justice to believe, that he aims personally at no particular men. Yet I cannot do him this Justice, without wondering that a Charge of this kind should be general.

And are the people to be Judges? yes, he he says, “ their Judgment is uncorrupt, and “ unbiassed by Friendship and Affection.” I doubt of their being remarkable uncorrupt, if his Estimate, in other parts, be strictly true. They may be unbiassed by Friendship and Affection, because they are in general totally unacquainted with the persons, whose Dismissal from office they are here exhorted to demand ; but may it not be doubted, whether this total Ignorance, which occasions the boasted Impartiality

partiality, may not have another effect, that^s of disabling them from forming a sound Judgement of the Capacity of those men ?

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It may be questioned, whether the people, in general, are qualified to judge of the Capacity of persons, with whom they *are* acquainted, of their Capacity for offices of State at least ; but to constitute the people Judges of the political Capacity of persons, whose names they never heard of, except in a news paper, or a Court Register, seems to be an Extension of the privileges of Englishmen to a degree of Inconsistency with Government.

“ The united voice of an uncorrupt people, “ we are told, is the safest Test of political “ Good and Evil.” I have no objection to the Doctrine, if by political Good be meant, Protection, and by political Evil, oppression. The people know and feel, when they are protected, and when they are oppressed, when their Interests are promoted, and when they are visibly betrayed ; in the latter Case their united voice generally has, and always ought to have, its due weight. But this is not the case, to which their voice is here applied by the Author, unless the good fortune of here

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and there a worthless man, who obtains a lucrative office in the State, may be deemed an oppression of a whole kingdom.

It would be cruel to remind him, that in page 16, of this very Second Volume, he calls certain "Scriblers *profligate*, for having "been toiling many a Day, to impress the "Body of the people, with this opinion, that "if certain Individuals were but removed "from the public Administration, our Affairs would of course go well."



S E C T.



S E C T. XVII.

Of MINISTERS of STATE.

I Trust my Reader is too candid, to misinterpret what hath been said. The genuine Liberties of this Country are not even glanced at. The people have an undoubted Right, when they are oppressed, and know, who is the oppressor, to solicit his Dismission, and even his punishment. They have a yet more indisputable Right, to confer all possible honors upon persons eminently zealous for their Interests; and the highest Honor man can arise at, is, to be proclaimed Good and GREAT by the united voice of his Countrymen.

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This has been lately the Case of two very Superior Characters, one of which our Author justly celebrates, towards the Conclufi-

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on of his work. I expected, in reading it, to have been also entertained with some Delineation of the other; but apprehend, he could not spare room to oblige the world with this, the few remaining pages being filled with a Delineation of Himself.

However some oblique notice is taken of this universally admired Character, in a note at the bottom of page 251, where we read as follows;

“ Let it be observed, that there is an essential Distinction to be maintained here, between a *good minister* and a *great Minister*. They may be equally *upright* in their *Intentions*; but the Difference may lie, either in the superior *Ability*, or *Courage* of the *latter*.”

“They may be equally upright”; that is, the good minister may be an honest good sort of man; and, since it was thought expedient to say no more of him, doubtless he is very much obliged to a great writer, for condescending to say so much.

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The nation has revered both these Characters without distinction. Till this Book appeared very few have thought of making a Comparifon. They have been confidered by the lovers of their Country as EQUALLY GOOD, and EQUALLY GREAT.

I fhould be extremely unwilling, to impute to an indirect motive, the leaft Syllable of a page, which recites the praifes of the *Great* minifter, becaufe the direct motive, his real conspicuous merit, is fo ftriking and natural. Yet I am perplexed with Doubts about the pertinence, the Candor and Juftice, of introducing fo invidious a comparifon between him and his colleague.

It is of very little confequence to thofe great worthies, what we temporary Authors fay of them. But it is of confequence to the nation, that one of the beft characters in it fhould not be deprettiated, that it fhould not be miftaken, as *Inſignificantly* Good. One would imagine, the Goodnefs itfelf fhould have recommended it to our Author, and fhould have prevailed with him to leave to pofterity the comparifon of two Friends, who are uniting,

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ing, in perfect Harmony, to save this Country, and in whom the nation discerns no remarkable Superiority above each other. At least it should seem, that this might have been spared, till a Rupture between them call forth the Advocates of each, or till the nation had received some lasting Benefit from the eminent Services of the one, performed without the participation of the other.

But Goodness, it seems, makes no such Impression upon our Author, when Greatness stands in his way. He almost confesses by his short Comparifon, that his mind extended as it is, is not comprehensive enough to admire both at once, and that his notions of virtue are too sublime, to permit him to look down upon a good Character, in the same work, in which he is engaged to look up to a Great one.

I know not how it comes to pass, that the narrow Capacities of other men should in this case discern so much more ; that they should be capable of admiring all the merit he truly ascribes to the GREAT MINISTER, as well as those Excellencies in his Character, which he omits ; and at
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he same time be struck with the “ solid
 “ abilities ; the uncommon penetration into
 “ men and Things ; the accurate Know-
 “ ledge of the State of Europe, and of
 “ whatever relates to the State of this
 “ Country ; the perspicuity in unravelling
 “ all the Intricacies of our Finances ; the
 “ philosophical Temper, which inclines him
 “ to the Enjoyments of peace and private
 “ Friendship ; the meritorious Self-Denial
 “ of sacrificing those Enjoyments, to the
 “ Commands of his King, and the Ex-
 “ igences of his Country, to the Business
 “ and Bustle of the world ; the steady, re-
 “ solute adherence to the principles and Spi-
 “ rit of our Constitution, and to the real,
 “ remote as well as present, Good of the
 “ nation ; the genuine unaffected modesty
 “ expressed in his acceptance of public
 “ Honors, in his pretensions to no higher
 “ Qualifications for a Steward of the pub-
 “ lic, than common Sense and common
 “ Honesty ; the distinguished Taste in mat-
 “ ters of Literature ; the mind not incum-
 “ bred with a superfluous Thought ; the
 “ Benevolence, Affability, and, above all
 “ the uniform, unshaken probity of the
 “ GOOD MINISTER.”

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I am persuaded, he neither needs, nor desires, to have any of these Truths concerning him proclaimed ; but whoever reads the second volume of the Estimate will see the propriety and Justice of rescuing an excellent Character, from the diminutive state, in which it there stands, compared with a Character, as Excellent.



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The CONCLUSION.

IT may be expected, that, in Imitation of our Author, I should turn from these great Ministers of State to myself ; but, having nothing material to offer on that Subject, I shall imitate him more closely, by turning from them to the respectable writer of the Estimate.

It must be confessed, after all these Doubts, that this nation, is by no means so religious and virtuous, as it might and ought to be ; that a writer who can give new Life and vigor to the principles of Religion and Virtue, would deserve highly of his Country ; that the State, having an Interest in those principles, would be infinitely obliged to such a writer.

But

But there are certain Qualities, without which his Book would have no more Effect, than other general Complaints of the Times, than those Comparisons of the present with former Ages, which are perpetually in the mouths of persons of both Sexes, who are going out of the world, and perpetually the Derision of those who are stepping into it.

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It should be strictly a Moral Book, manifestly written with no other view, than the Happiness of mankind. The world is so selfish, that if a moral writer appears to have any thing else in view, the whole Benefit of his Book is lost.

If, through the pardonable Infirmary of very good minds, he should now and then stray from his Subject, and produce any thing, that will bear the Interpretation of Arrogance, Vanity or Affectation, he is no longer a national preacher, but dwindles into a preacher of HIMSELF, which is seldom a Subject of Importance enough, to keep up the attention of a Nation.

If the Reader should imagine, that he can trace, throughout the Book, a certain political

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cal System, however excellent in itself, or however connected with morals ; if the Steps to that System should appear to be regular and artificially disposed, from the beginning of the Book to the End ; all the moral Effects will immediately vanish. Lessons, Rebukes, Expostulations, Threats, will all be disarmed of their natural Force. The Reader will discern, that morality is only the Vehicle to some other point, and having accompanied the Author to that point, he will step out of the Vehicle, and look about him upon different objects ; he will quit practice for Speculation ; he will forget moral and pursue political Good.

The reforming Book should contain nothing but what is strictly True, known to be true by the writer, and demonstrated to the Reader, by such Arguments, as cannot fail to convince him. If an Appeal is made to Experience, the writer should be diffident of his own Experience, and consult that of other men. Abuses and Corruptions, which he may have observed in a few Instances, might appear to him to be General, because he looked no farther ; and if, contrary to Truth, he represents them so, he weakens his
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